

## البرازيل القوة الصاعدة من أميركا اللاتينية

مركز الجزيرة للدر اسات

الملفات

سلسلة ملفات القوى الصاعدة (3)

2010



Al Jazeera Centre for Studies Tel: +974-4930181 Fax: +974-4831346 jcforstudies@aljazeera.net www.aljazeera.net/studies جميع الحقوق محفوظة لمركز الجزيرة للدراسات الآراء الواردة في هذا الملف لا تعبر بالضرورة عن رأي المركز

## المشاركون:

عاطف معتمد سوزان غراتيوس

أنطونيو دا روتشا أرليني كليميشا

تييجو كافالاكانتي جوليانا جيومارايس

كلوفيس بريجا جاوا دانييل فليمس

سارا دا سوزا سالم ناصر

أوليفر ستونكيل

إشراف: قسم البحوث والدراسات

تحرير: محمد عبد العاطي

.. :

.. .. •

••

.2009

п •

•

2002

2003 . 2007

17 .2001

(GAPCOM)

. 2009 /

.(GIGA)

.(CBAR) (SBDIMA)

.. 6

.

•

•

•

·

•

•

% 5

.

(BRIC )

( )

:

•

\_ \_

•

.

•

:

••

1 ": "

. п п

**:** 

•

п

. 2 8.5

.2009

. 7500

. "

.( ).



3000 ( ) 800 200

(1): (3). 500 (2).

) 1000 % 30 **(4)** . .( ) 1200 **500** % 40 ( )

1878 - 1877 Grande Seca

"Hy Brazil

)		и и	"Bress	п	п	(
Ilha de	Vera Cr		erra de Sa	anta (	Cruz "	11
	. (	( 12	)		)	
		. "				1500
			-		-	. "
		. ( 1800	<b>1500</b>	)		
·	Minas	s Gerais	(	)	" % <b>80</b>	п

```
1815
       1822
      )
                             7
                                            1827
                                                   8
-1831)
                                                   (1889
                             (1888)
                                      1889
             1974
1951
           1945
                    1930
                                                .1954
                             (1979-1974)
- 1979)
                                                   (1985
           (1992 – 1990)
                                    (1990-1985)
-2003)
                 (2003 - 1995)
                                            (1995 - 1992)
                                                  .(2010
```

.

.

II II

•

.( 95) .(%66) (% 14) (% 20) .% 4 % 7

180 50

.

. 65

( ) . % 13 200 . 15

. 22

. 2.5

. 13

2007 % 5 1980 % 80 .2008

. % **1** 

) . ( ) (

. Embraer

```
200 160
9)
                  % 14
                               (%8) (%
                   .( % 5)
                                      2
                           200
    .2 / 24
       18
   90
                   1940
                              40
                                     1900
                   2010
      200
                                   1970
                                  . 72 (
                             % 54
                                 % 39 (
       ) :
        )
                                 %6 (
           % 1
               % 0.1)
                         200
                    1500
     Jê
          Guarani
                    Tupi
                           .Caribs Arawaks
```

(% 84) 20) 6) 12) ) ( .( ) (% 42 (% 28 **% 15** % 64 300 1960

% 15 % 1 % 1 %1,5 .2(\*)

.

50.000

•

. 0.4

.

· :

.( ) 10 ( 17.000

•

( : )

( )
1648
1824 1822
(1865-1864) 1852-1851
200 1870 1864
" " "
" "

) 1889
) 1945 (1930 ) 1930 (
Estado Novo
1964 (1945 1937

н н

( )

81 ) : ( ) .(

( 513 ) (

11 ( ) .( )

: . 5564 . **214** 

. 36

.( )

- : ( )

( ) )

) 27 . " ORDEM E PROGRESSO:

·

• Susanne Gratius (2010) Brazil's geo-political and geo-strategic conditions for leadership. Unpublished report prepared for Aljazeera Centre for Studies.

- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazil
- CIA Factbook (2010) Brazil.
- FAO (2010) www.fao.org
- Fausto. B (1999) A concise history of Brazil. Cambridge Univ. Press. p 9-25
- St. Louis.R, & Draffen.A (2005) Brazil. Lonely Planet Guide. P 13-62
- Gomez.M (2005) Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas. Cambridge University Press. P 91-97
- Sachs.I et.al (2009) Brazil: A century of Change. The University of North Carolina Press.
- Filippo Bof & Filippo Santaniello(2006) The Geopolitics of South America: Venezuela and Brazil.

  <a href="http://www.eni.com/it\_IT/attachments/lavora-con-noi/pdf/GEOPOLITICA-SudAmerica.pdf">http://www.eni.com/it\_IT/attachments/lavora-con-noi/pdf/GEOPOLITICA-SudAmerica.pdf</a>
- Burns.E, Hull.R &, Lee Ralph. P (1997) World Civilizations, their history and their culture. Norton and Company. P 775-819

··

3

"Garota " " de Ipanema"

. 4

26 27

2002 . 3

. .. •

··

- - .

8 . % 0.15 - - % 80

46 53 ( ) 70

: " " 40 0.4

. 50.000 570.000

)

и и

•

•

•

- -

-.

(

) . . .

.

. ...

- - - " " "

1988 21 (1985 – 1964)

. 61

.(

1992 1990

) 81 : : ( )

<sup>5</sup>(\*) . **513** 

н н

•

<sup>5</sup> لمزيد من التوسع عن الهيئة التشريعية في البرازيل انظر المدخل التعريفي في الملف ذاته.

. 1835 .

•

1908 .

." - " - "

.

1903 1895 1900 1871 1918-1914 11.101 1913 5400

. 1929

48.326 1941 1908 ( )

Apud ). %4

5 11 (Truzzi, 2009:46 50 1.5 . %

. 80

:

п п

\_

.(1)"Amrik

.."Colonto

1870

.1880

% 79 % 49 % 18 . % 31 %99

:

" " \_ \_ . ." "

.

: Kurban

. " "

. % 90

25 de Marco 25 1983 .

**Aparecida do Norte** 

25 1910 .

) .(

Stock Rotation ( )

25

<del>-</del>

65 91 1920 . 12

**- -** . 1929

- - 1934

. % **50**  .

п

. (2)

1929 -

-

). (

•

(1897 ) ) " " (1908 )

(1920) (1918) (1912 .(1929) (1927) (1912) .(1922) (1917) (1919)(1920) (1917) (1936) (1934) (1922).(1944) (1935) "

38

1898 1896 1900 .

1940 1890 .

. 394

1931

. 1953 " "

- : .

•

16

41

11

.- / 29

(União Nacional Islâmica - UNI)

2004-2003

Amrik (1)

) (2)

Greiber, B.L., Maluf, L.S., Mattar, V.C. 1998. Memórias da Imigração: Libaneses e Sírios em São Paulo., São Paulo: Discurso.

Hajjar, C. F. 1985. Imigração Árabe: 100 Anos de Reflexão. São Paulo: Ícone.

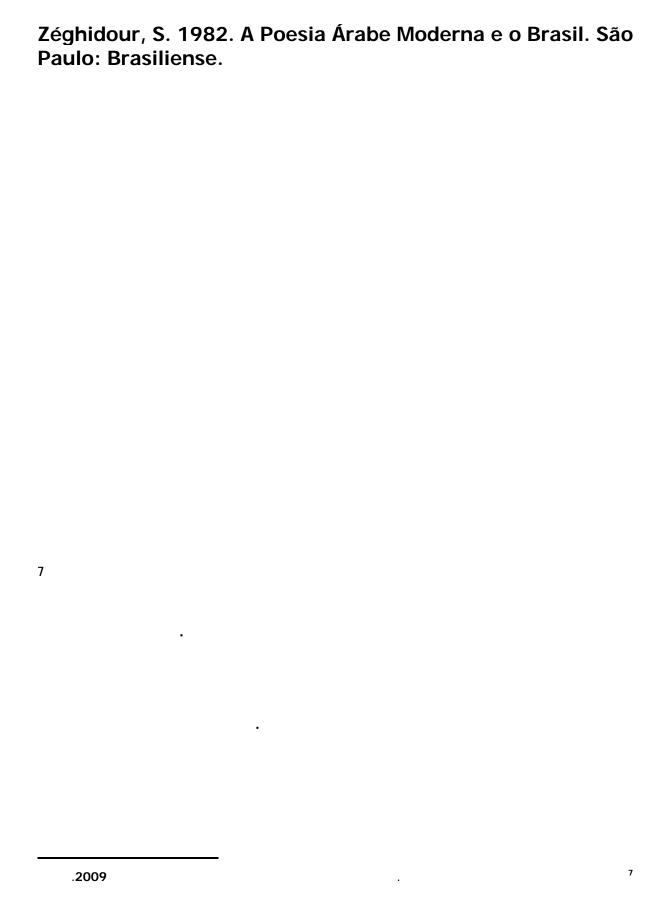
Knowlton, C. 1961. Sírios e Libaneses: Mobilidade social e espacial. São Paulo: Anhembi.

Safady, W. 1966. Cenas e Cenários dos Caminhos de Minha Vida. Belo Horizonte: Santa Maria, 1966.

Sebe. J.C.B.M. 2008. Ser Árabe na Cultura Brasileira: Construção de Identidade. Tiraz. Revista de Estudos Árabes e das Culturas do Oriente Médio. No 5, São Paulo: Humanitas/USP.

Sendlmayer, S. 2004. Perambulações: presença árabe na literatura brasileira. Tiraz. Revista de Estudos Árabes e das Culturas do Oriente Médio. No 1, São Paulo: Humanitas/USP.

Truzzi, O. M. S. 2009. Patrícios: Sírios e Libaneses em São Paulo. São Paulo: Unesp.



% 1

**200** .

n n

" " .( )

.1527 .1537

и и

% 40 . 20

. (% 68)

% 10 % 73 . % 30 .1835

1891

1807 /

**1809** /

.1826 1822 1816 1814 (1830 1827 ) ( ) Male 1835

1888

•

н н

. ("Cachaça " )

(

" " ( ) ( )

:

. 1888

•

200 2 200 % 1 % 0.01

> . % **1** . % **90**

.

: .

12.000

% 50 40 150 -80 .( 400.000 100 .(\*) (Vitoria Peres de Oliveira) 2006

( )

( % 20 )

% 30 – 25

10.000 :

n n

u 11

·

•

)

(2005

.(\*\*)

:

.(\*\*\*)

```
(
.(
                      40
```

и и

. . .

H H

п п

.

.2009

1929 (\*)
1956 1940
( )
1962 .1951
"
1979 "

" " 1987 CDIAL

22

" . .1983

400 1995 ). (\*\*) ). "O Clone 2002/2001 (200 ( ).

.S (2007) Islam and Muslims in America before Yucel Columbus. Fortune Magazine. April - June 2007 4. Issue :58

http://www.fountainmagazine.com/article.php?ARTICLEI D=823

De Oliveira.V (2006) Islam in Brazil or the Islam of Brazil? Relig. soc. vol.2 no. se Rio de Janeiro p.83-114.

The Pew Forum (2006) Islam and the Global War on Terrorism in Latin America http://pewforum.org/events/?EventID=103

Ben Farid. S (1998) The Islamic Slave Revolts of Bahia, Brazil: Continuity of the 19th Century Jihaad Movements of Western Sudan. Institute of Islamic Studies, Sankore. P 28-63.

Montenegro. Silvia (2002) Identidades muçulmanas no Brasil : entre o arabismo e a islamização, Lusotopie 2002/2 : P 59-79

Turner. R.B (1997) Islam in the African-American Experience. Indiana University Press. P 11-15

The Johns Bastide. R (1978) The African Religions of Brazil. 142-154. Hopkins University Press. P

Gomez.M (2005) Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas. Cambridge University Press. P 91-97

Claval.P (2000) Herodote and the French left. In Dodds. K & Atkinson. D (eds) Geopolitical Traditions: A centaury of Geopolitical Thoughts. Routledge. P239-260

www.fambras.org.br www.uniaoislamica.com.br www.islam.com.br www.islambr.com.br

http://www.academiaislamica.org.br

. :(2009)

.2009/10/27

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/16091496-D568-4578-8BC7-F71631E6F6BA.htm

## 2010/2009

"( ) .. "

http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=ArticleA\_ C&cid=1256033840852&pagename=Zone-Arabic-News%2FNWALayout

8

2007 2003 17 .2001

58

2008

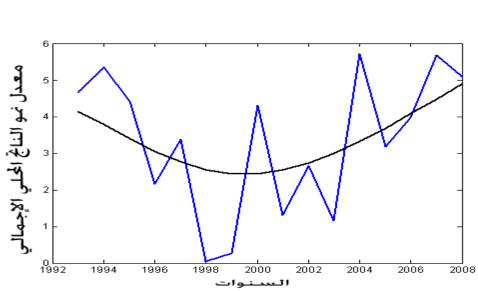
1980

. 1980 . .1994 1993

(

(2003 1996 ) .. 59

(1 ) % 1.9 (2) **% 0.4** .(1 **% 4.7** 2008 2004 2008 **% 5.1** 2009 2010 .%**6** .% **5 4** (1)

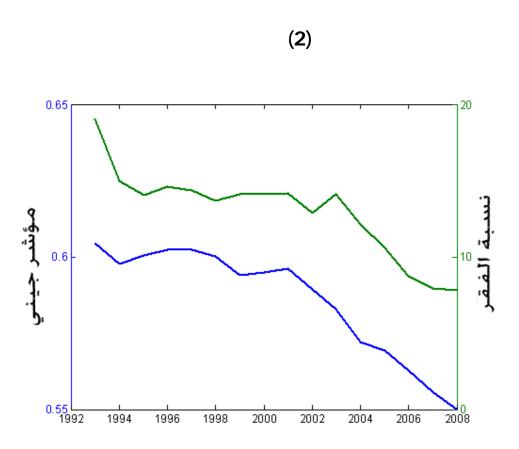


Source: IPEADATA, www.ipea.gov.br:

(2) 60 28 ( 15) 62 20 17 16 30 **% 40** 182 11 64 % **49 % 90** % 0.3 .(3) .(3) 2003 **% 62** .2009

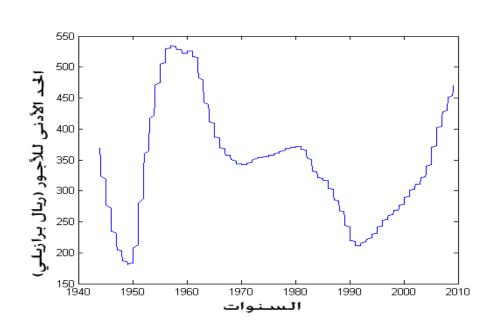
.2004 1995 (\*) % 21

(2)



IPEADATA, www.ipea.gov.br :





IPEADATA, www.ipea.gov.br :

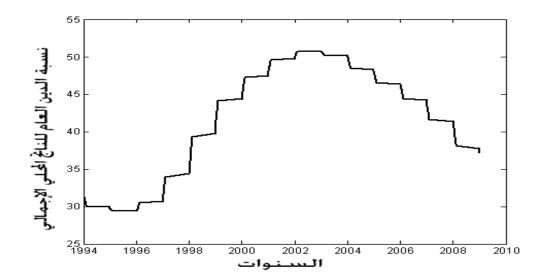
(2008)

2008

(2008 %5.1)

% 50 .(4 ) 2008 % 37 2003 Standard & Poor's 2008 1 . **Moody's Investors Services** 7 .(4) 235.7 ) .( 13.25 **% 8.75** 2009 / % 1999 - 2008 / 10 bundesbank (4)

64



## IPEADATA www.ipea.gov.br :

( ) ) . (BNDES

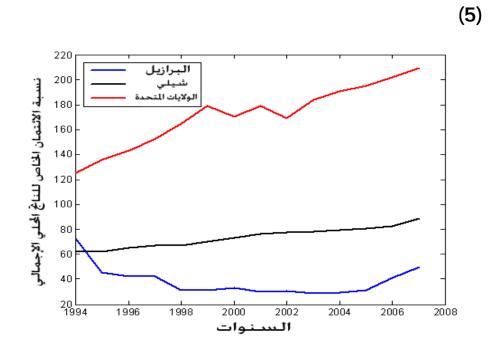
% **8** % **82** . % **10** 

.(5 )

) **2008** / % **60** .(

13 .

. %



## World Development Indicators (World Bank).:

(

15

-% **40** - ( )

## 2006 2004 .

.(5)

Companhia

-1997 - 2006 Vale do Rio Doce

Schmitz and )

% 60 .(Teixeira (2008)

% 55

**Embraer** 

.(

1999 2004 2002 2001

**- 1997** . 1954

40

1997 ANP

**% 95** 

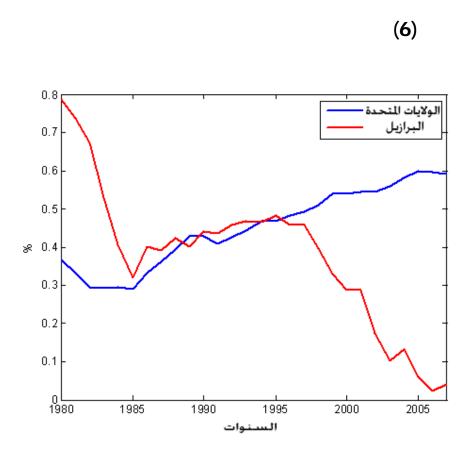
**1993 1976** . .2001 1993 % 13.6 % 4.6 п п

(6) . .2007 1980

% 37 80 2007 % 60 1980 .2008 2007 % 5 1980 %

1973 /

8 6 2009 /
Tupi ( )
300
18.000



**Energy Information Administration office**:

100

) 1973 /

•

 1979
 1975
 .(6)
 % 22

 1979
 .% 500

 .%100

1979 . - - . 1985

.

.2002 % 24

.2002 : .2003

% **2** 

. 5 2008 328.300

.% **90** 

AEIA

9.3

.1 2

. % **90** -(

. 54

.%**1** 

% **65** INPE

%5.1 -(2008 ) -.(% 6 2010

% 40

-2009 / 5 -

)

.

\_\_\_\_\_

2003 . 2007

17 .2001

```
(*)
                                             (1 - 0)
                           1.00
                                                 ( ).
                                                       (1)
      . Baer (2008) :
Carvalho Filho and
                             Engel curves
                                                       (2)
                                          Chamon (2006)
2002 1987
                                % 1.5
                                                % 4.5
                                                       (3)
 Progresa
                                .(Currie and Gahvari. 2008
                                                       (4)
                           )
               % 2
                                                       (5)
Sachs and Warner:
                                                 .((1995)
Cavalcanti, Mohaddes
                                        and Raissi (2009)
```

Alston, L., Melo, M. A, Mueller, B. and C. Pereira (2008). "Political Institutions, Policymaking Processes and Policy Outcomes in Brazil", IADB Working Paper R-509.

Antunes, A., Cavalcanti, T. and A. Villamil (2008). "The Effects of Financial Repression on Entrepreneurship and Economic Development", Journal of Monetary Economics 55: 278-297.

Araujo, A. and B. Funchal (2009). "Credit Markets in Brazil: Institutional Reforms and Growth", Working Paper, IMPA-Instituto de Matemática Pura e Aplicada.

Baer, W (2008). The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development. Lynne Rienner Pub- lishers, 6th Edition.

Bezerra, J. and T. Cavalcanti (2009). "Brazil's Lack of Growth". In: Love and Baer, Eds. Brazil Under Lula: Economy, Politics, and Society under the Worker President, Palgrave Macmillan.

Bridgman, B., Gomes, V., and A. Teixeira (2008). "Sustainable Miracles: Protection and Competition in the Brazilian Oil Industry," Working Paper, Bureau of Economic Analysis.

Carvalho Filho, I. and M. Chamon (2006). "The Myth of Post-Reform Income Stagnation in Brazil," IMF Working Paper 06/275.

Cavalcanti, T. and M. Corrêa (2009). "Cash Transfers to the Poor and the Labor Market", Mimeo, University of Cambridge.

Cavalcanti, T. and J. Jalles (2009). "Macroeconomic Effects of Oil Price Shocks in Brazil and in the United States", Mimeo, University of Cambridge.

Cavalcanti, T., Mohaddes, K., and M. Raissi (2009). "Growth, Development and Natural Resources: New Evidence Using a Heterogeneous Panel Analysis". Working Paper, University of Cambridge.

Currie, J. and F. Gahvari (2008). "Transfer in Cash and in-Kind: Theory Meets the Data," Journal of Economic Literature, 46(2), 333–383.

Kohli, A. (2004). State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery. Cambridge University Press.

Levine, R. (1997). "Financial Development and Economic Growth: Views and Agenda. Journal of Economic Literature XXXV: 688–726.

Sachs, J. and M. Warner (1995). "Natural Resource Abundance and Economic Growth", NBER Working Paper 5398.

Schmitz, T., Seale, J. and P. Buzzanell (2007). "Brazil's Domination of the World's Sugar Market", Working Paper, Arizona State University.

Soares, F. V., Soares, S., Medeiros, M. and R. Osório (2006). Cash Transfer Programmes in Brazil: Impacts on Inequality and Poverty", United Nations Development Programme Working Paper 21.

Schmitz, J. and A. Teixeira (2008). "Privatization's Impact on Private Productivity: The Case of the Brazilian Iron Ore". Review of Economic Dynamics 11: 745-760.

Weidenmaier, M., Davis, J. H., and R. Aliaga-Diaz (2008). "Is Sugar Sweeter at the Pump? The Macroeconomic Impact of Brazil's Alternative Energy Program", NBER Working Paper 14362.

Roett 2007
...
1967 ( ) Grandeza
1982
...
2010
...
" " (2003 -1995)
" " " " (2003 -1995)

•

9

Clóvis Brigagão (2010) Brazil´s role in the Regional and International arena. Unpublished (2010) report prepared for Aljazeera Centre for Studies. Doha Jan.2010 .2010 / .

и и

(1988 – 1889)

" (2010-1985)

- - OAS

.1956

.(\*\*\*)

150

n •

11 11

•

% 400 % 200 2006 2003

2003 .( )

- -

· -

( )

(

. (MERCOSUR)
. - 2000
"
. "IIRSA
(BNDES
Andean
.IABD

**UNASUR** 

(CDS) "

.(2010- 2003)

. -1992

2009 .(

		:	(	*)
International ar	(2010) Brazil´s ro ena. Unpublished e for Studies. Doh	report prepar		
		(2010) .2010 /		
		. (GA	APCOM)	
		2009	<i>1</i>	
(	)		(**	)
	" :	( ).	· / (**	*)

.

. :

.

.

.(GIGA)

: .1

.

:

:

<u>. - </u>

. -

. -

. -

· -

: -

":

." -

.

•

. - - -

: .

.

"
."
.

:( ) .

.

.1.1

п

n n n

· ·

.

India, )			II	IBSA "	II
	(Brazi	l, South <i>I</i>	Africa (IBS	SA) Dialogu	e Forum
		1	.( )	2003	1
	(Cancul	n, Mexic	0)( )		
	•				
		-	-		
	-	-			
	٠				
		21	"IBSA	П	
		<b>Z</b> I			
(	)				
( )	٠				
,					
	•				
		ш	п		
		•			
2004					

) 2007 .(Heiligendamm) " "IBSA .2.1 2001 %**49** %60

"IBSA "

<del>-</del>

: ( . . )

- - ... ...

: .

.

.2007 /

.1990

. 1 / / C

- -

. "IBSA "

" - "
IB2A

"IBSA "

"IBSA " .2006 / 2009 /

.2014

-

\_ " " \_

"IBSA "

. " "

.

и и

2003 "IBSA "

. "IBSA "

: . 117 116 - - .

" " 124 . "IBSA "

2006 / 77

(\*).(Bretton Woods) "IBSA "IBSA 2003 .2

( (MERCOSUR) .1991 2 **520** .%**7** 2006 / (MERCOSUR) 2003 2004 "UNASUR

(2002-1995)

(MERCOSUR)

```
(MINUSTAH)
                           2008
  2007 - 2005
         (ALBA) (
      (
           .(F.T.A.A.)
                        NAFTA
```

. -

•

)

· ;

.(

" ( ) "

•

•

.1.2

<del>-</del>

<del>-</del>

- -

<del>-</del>

•

- -

•

; - -

- -

•

. /

.

.( )

•

•

·

.(ALBA)

\_ \_

: .2.2

( \$ ) 2006

13.446

1 UNASUR

287 ( ) 2006

1	UNASUR
1,6	( / ) 2006
2	UNASUR
9,4	( ) 2005
3	UNASUR
1,1	( ) 2006
1	UNASUR
72	2007
3	UNASUR
	1
188,7	( )
1	UNASUR
8,5	( )
1	UNASUR

1.924	\$ ) 2006
	(
4	UNASUR
82	( ) 2006
3	UNASUR
2.8	( / ) 2006
1	UNASUR
27.5	( ) 2005
2	
	UNASUR
0.181	) 2006

	(
3	UNASUR
98	2007
7	UNASUR
	1
27	( )
5	UNASUR
0.912	( )
6	UNASUR

Military: HDR 2006, http://hdrstats.undp.org/buildtables

**Energy: CIA World Factbook,** 

https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-

factbook/

**Economy: Human Development Report 2006,** 

http://hdrstats.undp.org/buildtables/;

Growth Competitive Report 2006: World Economic Forum, http://www.weforum.org

Demo-/Geography: World Bank Data & Statistics (2006), www.worldbank.org

2006

.

– " ALBA .( )

( )

--

(ALBA) (F.T.A.A.)

(PDVSA) .(Petrobras)

(IIRSA) " : (ALBA) .( (IIRSA)

(F.T.A.A.)

(IIRSA) " ( (65)" 50) ( 1)

(ALBA)

. 111

-

.

.3

. : " "IPSA "

.

. \_ \_

· - -

.. 112

- -

·
- - .

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

.(GIGA)

(Bretton Woods) (\*)

•

1944

2008

Adebajo, A, 'Nigeria: Africa's new gendarme?', Security Dialogue, 31.2, 2000, pp. 185-99.

Bach, D C, 'Nigeria: can a failing state be a regional power?' Paper presented at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, 11-12 December 2006.

Baldwin, D A, 'Power and International Relations', in W Carlsnaes, T Risse & B A Simmons (eds.), Handbook of International Relations. London: Sage, 2002, pp. 177-191.

Bergstresser, H & D M Tull, 'Nigeria als regionale Ordnungsmacht in Westafrika', SWP-Studie (February). Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, 2008.

Bischoff, P H, 'External and domestic sources of foreign policy ambiguity: South African foreign policy and the projection of pluralist middle power', Politikon 30.1, 2003, pp. 183-201.

Bodemer, K, 'Petropolitics - Politischer Diskurs, Geopolitik und ökonomisches Kalkül in den Beziehungen zwischen der "Bolivarischen Republik Venezuela" und den Vereinigten Staaten', Lateinamerika Analysen, 16.1, 2007, pp. 169-201.

Boeckh, A, 'Vom "Quasi-Staat" zur regionalen Führungsmacht und zurück'. Paper presented at the Conference "Führungsmächte in Lateinamerika", 10-12 January 2003.

Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), Global disarmament, demilitarization, and demobilization. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Breslin, S et al. (ed.), New regionalism in the global political economy. London: Routledge, 2002.

Brooks, S G. & W C Wohlforth, 'Hard times for soft balancing', International Security, 30.1, 2005, pp. 72-108.

Burges, S W, 'Consensual hegemony: theorizing Brazilian foreign policy after the cold war', International Relations, 22.1, 2008, pp. 65-84.

Buzan, B & O Waever, Regions and powers: the structure of international security. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Cardozo de Da Silva, E, 'Venezuela: ¿Potencia media en el Carivbe?, in S Andrés (ed.), Venezuela y las relaciones internacionales en la cuenca del Caribe. Caracas: Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales, 1987, pp. 179-194.

Christie, R & D Dewitt, 'Middle powers and regional security' Paper presented at the Universidad de San Andrés, Buenos Aires, May 2006.

Cohen, S P, 'India's Hard Power. Conventional and nuclear build-up' Paper presented at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, 11-12 December 2006.

Cooper, A F, R A Higgott & K R Nossal (eds.), Relocating middle powers: Australia and Canada in a changing world order. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993.

Cox, R, 'Middlepowermanship: Japan and the future of the world order', in R Cox & T Sinclair (eds.), Approaches to World Order. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 241-275.

Economist, 'Brazil: an economic superpower, and now oil too', 17April 2008.

Engel, U, 'Westafrikanischer Hegemon oder Scheinriese? Nigeria in der internationalen Politik', GIGA Focus Afrika 7. Hamburg: German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 2007.

Flemes, D, 'Brazil's cooperative leadership in Southern Latin America's security policies', 2006, available at http://www.dissertation.de/englisch/index.php3?active\_document=buch.php3&sprache=2&buch=4580

Flemes, D, 'Conceptualising regional power in International Relations: lessons from the South African case', GIGA Working Paper 53. Hamburg: German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 2007a.

Flemes, D, 'Emerging middle powers' soft balancing strategy: state and perspectives of the IBSA dialogue forum'. GIGA Working Paper 57. Hamburg: German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 2007b.

Flemes, D, 'Brasilien – Regionalmacht mit globalen Ambitionen'. GIGA Focus Lateinamerika 6. Hamburg: German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 2007c.

Friedberg, A L, 'Ripe for rivalry: prospects for peace in a multipolar Asia', International Security, 18.3, 1993-94, pp. 5-33.

Gratius, S, 'Lula's foreign policy: global overstretch and regional understatement?' Paper presented at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 11-12 December 2006.

Haass, R, 'The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance?', Foreign Affairs, 87.3, 2008, pp. 44-56.

Habib, A & N Selinyane, 'Constraining the unconstrained: civil society and South Africa's hegemonic obligations in Africa', in W Carlsnæs & P Nel (eds.), In full flight - South African foreign policy after Apartheid. Midrand: Institute for Global Dialogue, 2006, pp. 175-194.

Hakim, P, 'The reluctant partner', Foreign Affairs, 83.1, 2004, pp. 114-123.

Harris, J, 'Emerging third world powers: China, India and Brazil', Race & Class 46.3, 2005, pp. 7-27.

Huntington, S, 'The lonely superpower', Foreign Affairs, 78.2, 1999, pp. 35-49.

Hurrell, A, 'Some reflections on the role of intermediate powers in international institutions', in A Hurrell et al. (ed.), Working Paper 244 "Paths to power: foreign policy strategies of intermediate states". Washington, DC: Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center, 2000, pp. 1-11.

Hurrell, A, 'Power, institutions, and the production of inequality', in M Barnett & R Duvall, Power in global governance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 1-32.

Hurrell, A, 'Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers?', International Affairs 82.1, 2006, pp.1-19.

Hurrell, A, 'One world? Many worlds? The place of regions in the study of international society', International Affairs, 83.1, 2007, pp. 127-146.

Ikenberry, G J 'The future of international leadership', Political Science Quarterly, 111.3, 1996, pp. 375-399.

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). The military balance. London: IISS, 2006.

Kelly, P, 'Punching Above Our Weight', Policy, 20.2, 2004, pp. 29-34.

Keohane, R, 'Lilliputian's dilemmas: small states in international politics', International Organizations, 23.2, 1969, pp. 291-310.

Khan, S, 'Nuclear weapons and the prolongation of the India-Pakistan rivalry', in T V Paul (ed.), The India-Pakistan conflict: an enduring rivalry. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 156-177.

Kindleberger, C P, 'Dominance and leadership in the international economy: exploitation, public goods and free riders', International Studies Quarterly, 25, 1981, pp. 242-254.

Kugler, J et al., 'Integrating theory and policy: global implications of the war in Iraq', International Studies Review, 6, 2004, pp. 163-179.

Kugler, J, 'The Asian ascent: opportunity for peace or precondition for war?' International Studies Perspectives, 7, 2006, 36-42.

Kugler, J & A F K Organski, 'The power transition: a retrospective and prospective evaluation', in M Midlarski (ed.), Handbook of War Studies. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989, 171-194.

Mearsheimer, J J, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics, New York: Norton, 2001.

Miller, D,

'South Africa and the IBSA Initiative: constraints and chall enges', Africa Insight, 35, 2005, pp. 52-57.

Nolte, D, 'Macht und Machthierarchien in den internationalen Beziehungen: Ein Analysekonzept für die Forschung über regionale Führungsmächte'. GIGA Working Paper 29. Hamburg: German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 2006.

Nolte, D, 'How to compare regional powers: analytical concepts and research topics' Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops on "The Rise of (New) Regional

Powers in Global and Regional Politics", Helsinki, 7-12 May 2007.

Nolte, D, 'How to compare regional powers: analytical concepts and research topics' Unpublished Manuscript, Hamburg, 2008.

Nye, J, Soft Power: The means to success in world politics. New York: Public Affairs, 2004.

Organski, A.F.K., World politics. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958.

Pape, R A, 'Soft balancing against the United States', International Security, 30.1, 2005, pp. 7-45.

Paul, T V, 'Soft balancing in the age of U.S. primacy', International Security, 30.1, 2005, pp. 46-71.

Pedersen, T, 'Cooperative hegemony: power, ideas and institutions in regional integration', Review of International Studies, 28, 2002, pp. 677-696.

Rais, RB, 'Pakistan in the regional and global power structure', *Asian Survey*, 31.4, 1991, pp. 378-392.

Rajmaira, S, 'Indo-Pakistani relations: reciprocity in long-term perspective', International Studies Quarterly, 41.3, 1997, pp. 547-560.

Schirm, S, 'Führungsindikatoren und Erklärungsvariablen für die neue internationale Politik Brasiliens', Lateinamerika Analysen, 11, 2005, pp. 107-130.

Schirm, S, 'Emerging power leadership in global governance: assessing the leader - Follower nexus for Brazil and Germany', Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops on "The Rise of (New) Regional Powers in Global and Regional Politics", Helsinki, 7-12 May 2007.

Schoeman, M, 'South Africa as an emerging middle power: 1994-2003', in J Daniel, A Habib & R Southall (eds.), State of the nation: South Africa 2003-2004. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2003, pp. 349-367.

Sitaraman, S, 'Multilateral institutional order and intermediate strategies – The case of the Indian nuclear programme', in A Hurrell et al. (ed.), Working Paper 244 "Paths to Power: Foreign Policy Strategies of Intermediate States". Washington, D.C.: Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Centre, 2000, pp. 118-151.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), SIPRI Yearbook 2007: Armaments, Disarmament, and International Security. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Soares de Lima, M R, 'Brasil en América Latina: Liderazgo regional en América del Sur', Foreign Affairs En Espanol (October-November), 2007.

Soares de Lima, M R & M Hirst, 'Brazil as a intermediate state and regional power: action, choice and responsibilities', International Affairs, 82.1, 2006, pp. 21-40.

Ubiraci Sennes, R., 'Intermediate countries and the multilateral arenas: the case of Brazil in the GATT and UN Security Council between 1980 and 1995, in A Hurrell et al. (ed.), Working Paper 244 "Paths to Power: Foreign Policy Strategies of Intermediate States". Washington, D.C.: Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Centre, 2000, pp. 82-117.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Human Development Report 2007. New York (NY): UNDP, 2007.

Valladão, A, 'Brazil: a wavering leader' Paper presented at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies'

Conference "Regional Powers in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Near and Middle East", 11-12 December 2006.

Wagner, C, 'India and its neighbours: regional cooperation and beyond' Paper presented at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, 11-12 December 2006.

Walt, S, Origins of alliances. Ithaca, N.J.: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Wight, M, Power Politics. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1978.

Wilson, D & R Purushothaman, 'Dreaming with BRICs: The path to 2050' Global Economics Paper 99. New York: Goldman Sachs, 2003.

Wohlforth, W C, 'The stability of a unipolar world', International Security, 24.1, 1999, pp. 5-41.

11

" " ( )

(1)

•

. (2)-

" " " "

(1947)

.(3)

(SBDIMA) . (CBAR)

.. 123

.(4)

.(2010-2002) (2002 -1995) .(5) .(6)

2003 )

2003 1 2002

- " - (ASPA) "

.2005 / " Celso Amorim

.(7)"
/ 2005 / " - "
2009

- " : ."

%4 2000 4.5 %5.5 2008 20

2008 9 . 2.2 -

.(9)1995

•

.(CBAR) (SBDIMA)

( ). (\*)

- 1. See for example: LAFER, Celso. "Brazilian International Identity and Foreign Policy: Past, Present and Future", in Dedalus, 129, p. 207-238, Spring 2000 and also VIGEVANI, Túlio, CINTRA, Rodrigo and KLEINAS, Alberto. "Conflito Palestina-Israel: anacronismo, contemporaneidade e o papel do Brasil", in Israel Palestina: A Construção da Paz Vista de uma Perspectiva Global, Gilberto DUPAS and Túlio VIGEVANI (org.), São Paulo, UNESP, 2002, p. 19-46
- 2. LINS DA SILVA, Carlos Eduardo. "Política e Comércio Exterior", in A Era FHC, Bolívar LAMOUNIER and Rubens FIGUEIREDO (Org.), São Paulo, Cultura, 2002, p.295-330
- 3. See VIGEVANI and others, note 1
- 4. See LINS DA SILVA, note 2
- 5. See LAMPREIA, Luiz Felipe. "Diplomacia Brasileira: Palavras, Contextos, Razões", São Paulo, Lacerda, 1999.
- 6. http://www2.mre.gov.br/aspa Access on March 19 2010
- 7. AMORIM, Celso Luiz Nunes. "Uma agenda de cooperação com o mundo árabe" Valor Econômico, São Paulo, 03/12/2003
- 8. Source: Câmara de Comércio Árabe Brasileira http://www.ccab.com.br/site/index.php and SECEX at www2.desenvolvimento.gov.br/sitio/secex
- 9. According to the Central Bank of Brazil's statistics on foreing direct investments at WWW.bcb.gov.br

12

( )

. 1218 . 15

4000 1992 300 ) 1995 50 .(MONUA ) 1997 (UNAVEM III

2004

.2007

2003

.1 .2 OECD .2007 Heiligendamm .3 "IBSA 1987 **FUNAG ABC** ODA .("Zero Hunger

Viva Rio

( )

" ( )

п

MDGs

.2015 ODA

11 11 11 11

п п

% 38 ODA
.
( )
.
- .

- - · · · · · ·

ODA

и и

\_\_\_\_\_

:

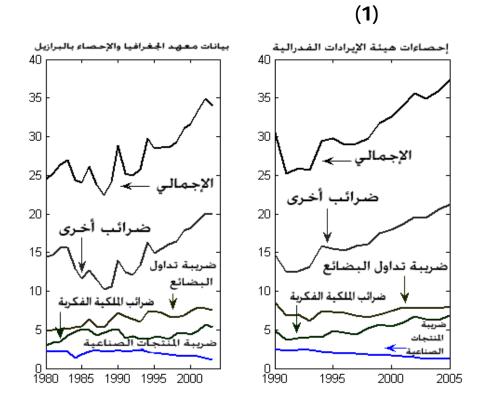
13

:

•

.

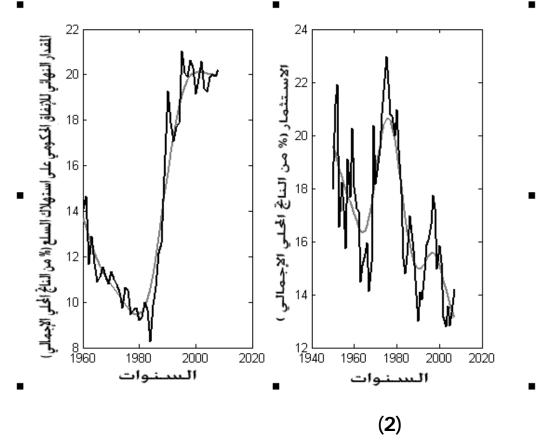
- % 35 (2 1 ). %25 % 18 -



Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísitca and : Secretaria da Receita Federal

(2)

. 135



World:

(2)

**Development Indicators.** 

Penn:

**World Tables** 

(2)

1988

(2)

% 14

Adrogué et al (2006)

( )

.. 137

. % **2** 

.

)

(% 6 65 % 11

. ( 30 ) 35

54 % 60

% **62** ( **250 465** 

. % **4** 

.(

 %60)
 % 26.8

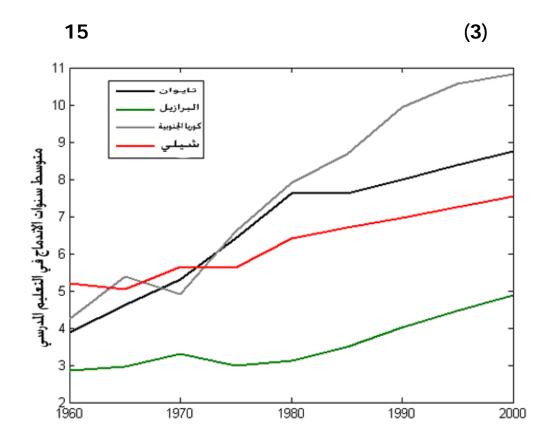
 165.3
 . % 3.4
 % 17
 (

 . %90
 % 51.3
 . %
 %

 %50
 )
 (
 (

(3 ).

.. 139



Barro and Lee (2000):

" " (PISA)

**58** . :

(Pessoa 2006) % 30

) 122 -Gini - .(4 ( )

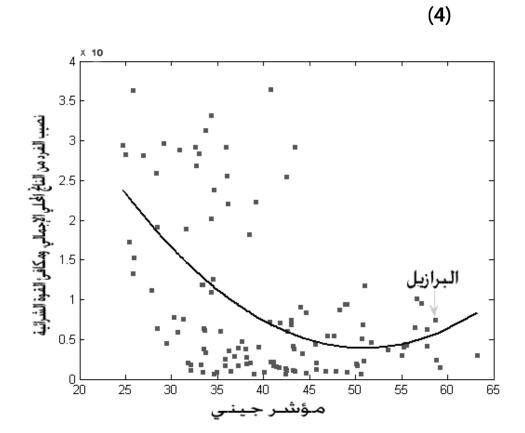
.

(%47 )

. % 17 IPEA

.% 35 % 29

.. 141



## .World Development Indicators :

25.7
(10) (1.55)
(48) (26) (7.17)

IPEA

74

UNODC

2005

3 2

. 150

.

(\*)
(\*\*)

(\*\*)

- - 
( ). % 0.3 :-

Adrogué, R., Cerisola, M., and G. Gelos (2006). "Brazil's Long-Term Growth Performance: Trying to Explain the Puzzle", IMF Working Paper 06/282.

Antunes, A., and T. Cavalcanti (2007). "Start Up Costs, Limited Enforcement, and the Hidden Economy," European Economic Review, 51(1), 203–224.

Barro, R. J., and J.-W. Lee (2000). "International Data on Educational Attainment: Updates and Implications," CID Working Paper No. 42.

Barros, Ricardo and Rosane Mendonça, (1996). ``Os determinantes da Desigualdade no Brasil" A Economia Brasileira em Perspectiva IPEA. Vol. 2 pp.421-74.

Bourguignon, F., F. Ferreira, and M. Menéndez (2003). "Inequality of Outcomes and Inequality of Opportunities in .Brazil," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3174

Bezerra, J. and T. Cavalcanti (2009). "Brazil's Lack of Growth". In: Love and Baer, Eds. Brazil Under Lula:

**Economy, Politics, and Society under the Worker President, Palgrave Macmillan.** 

Capp, J., H.-P. Estrodt, and W. B. Jones Jr. (2005). "Reining in Brazil's Informal Economy," The McKinsey Quarterly, 1.

Cavalcanti, T., Magalhães, A., and J. Tavares (2008). "Institutions and Economic Development in Brazil", Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance, 48: 412-432.

Cavalcanti, T., Guimarães, J. And Sampaio B (2009). "Barries to Skill Aquisition in Brazil:Evidences from a University entrance exam", Mimeo.

CNI (2006). "Crescimento: A Visão da Indústria," Discussion paper Confederação Nacional da Indústria.

Elstrodt, H.-P., M. A. Laboissieere, and B. Pietracci (2007). "Five Priorities for Brazil's Economy," The McKinsey Quarterly, Special Edition: Shaping a new agenda for Latin America.

Ferreira, S. G., and F. A. Veloso (2006): "Intergenerational Mobility of Wages in Brazil," Brazilian Review of Econometrics, 26(2), 181–212.

Giambiagi, F., and L. de Mello (2006). "Social Security Reform in Brazil: Achievements and Remaining Challenges," OECD: Working Paper CO/WKP(2006) 62 •

14

( ) (BRIC)

:

:

•

.

.. 146

:(1)

		.1
		.2
		.3
	•	.4
		.5
		.6

" " .2009 2008

•

-.

. MERCOSUR
( ) UNASUR

. . .

% **35** % **47** 

· . :

п

(1969 1967 ) Tlatelolco
( ) 1991

.(2)

( ) .(3)

.(4)

1995

.(5)

7500 200

- "
- "
(ABACC )

. (7) . .(8) .(

(1999 ) .2009/2008

:

: . **200** 

п п

 % 5
 % 12
 %13
 % 15

 .
 % 5

2008 . 40

· - - - :

. " " 2003

п п

.. 153

Lúcio Flávio Pinto

**FARC** 

<del>-</del>

4.4

. (FARC)

.(9)

. ..

- - .

155

) . (

(

.(% 30) ( % 25)

. % 60

2006 14.3 50-40) 30 20 .( 350)

MINUSTA )

. .

## Mangabeira Unger

159

			(1)
-	•		(2)
-	.( de Gouvea	1991)	
.(de Gouvea 1991)			(3)
.(de Souza 2006)			(4)
<b>1864</b>			(5)
			(6)
. (Brigagao 2006) .	(	)	
% 75			(7)
Energy Information Ad	· ministration. "Coun	trv:).	

Analysis Briefs: Venezuela," U.S. Department of Energy, (October 2007, available at: http://www.eia.doe.gov.

30 2005 (8)

15

Sharon Squassoni, "Nuclear : ). 10 5
Renaissance: Is It Coming? Should It?" Carnegie
Endowment for International Peace, Policy Brief No. 69,
(October 2008
(9)

Armijo, L.E. and P. Sotero (2007): Brazil: To be or not to be a BRIC?, Asian Perspective, Vol.31, No.4, 2007

Bandeira, L. (2006): Brazil as a regional power and its relations to the United States, Latin American Perspectives, Vol.33, No.3, May 2006

Barbosa, R. (2008): Diplomacia da Generosidade e Interesse Nacional, Estado de São Paulo, March 18, 2008; http://arquivoetc.blogspot.com/2008/05/rubens-barbosa-diplomacia-da.html, accessed January 24, 2010

Barrionuevo, A.(2009): Whose Forest is this, anyway?, NYTimes, March 18, 2009; http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/18/weekinreview/18 barrionuevo.html?pagewanted=print, accessed January 24, 2010

Brigagão, C. and F. Fernandes (2008): Política Externa Brasileira e os Três Eixos Estratégicos, Fundação Heinrich Böll, 2008; http://www.boell-latinoamerica.org/download\_pt/POLITICA\_EXTERNA\_BRA SILEIRA\_E\_OS\_TRES\_EIXOS\_ESTRATEGICOS.pdf, accessed January 24, 2010

Brigagão, C. and L. Paz Neves (2007): Is there an arms race in South America?, in: International Security: A European-South American Dialogue, IV International Security Conference of Forte de Copacabana, Konrad Audenauer Foundation, 2007

Busch, A. (2009): Wirtschaftsmacht Brasilien: Der grüne Riese erwacht, München, Carl Hanser Verlag, 2009

CIA Factbook; www.ciafactbook.com, accessed January 24, 2010

De Gouvea, R.(1991): How Brazil Competes in the Global Defense Industry, Latin American Research Review, Vol. 26, No. 3, 1991

de Onis, J. (2008): Brazil's Big Moment: A South American giant wakes up, Foreign Affairs, Nov/ Dec 2008

De Souza, A. (2008): A Agenda Internacional do Brasil: A Politica Externa do Brasil de FHC à Lula, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 2008

Escobar, P. (2006): Hezbollah South of the Border, Asia Times, August 3, 2006; http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Front\_Page/HH03Aa01.html

García Pino, G. (2007): Combined Joint Peace Force "Cruz del Sur" (Southern Cross), in: International Security: A European-South American Dialogue, IV International

Security Conference of Forte de Copacabana, Konrad Audenauer Foundation, 2007

Gerami, N. and S. Squassoni (2008): A Nuclear Profile. Proliferation Analysis, December 18, 2008; http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=22568, accessed January 24, 2010

Griffith, I.L. (1995): Caribbean Security: Retrospect and Prospect, Latin American Research Review, Vol. 30, No.2, 1995

Fleitas, D.M. (2007): Arms Race Vs. Cooperation in Security in South America, in: International Security: A European-South American Dialogue, IV International Security Conference of Forte de Copacabana, Konrad Audenauer Foundation, 2007

Hunter, W. (1997): Eroding Military Influence in Brazil: Politicians Against Soldiers. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997

Huntington, S. (1999): The Lonely Superpower, Foreign Affairs, 1999

Hurrell, A. (1998): Security in Latin America, International Affairs, Vol. 74, No.3, Jul.1998

Jácome, F (2007): Is Cooperation in security feasible in South America?, in: International Security: A European-South American Dialogue, IV International Security Conference of Forte de Copacabana, Konrad Audenauer Foundation, 2007

Johnson, E. (2003): The Taming of the Amazon, Foreign Policy, No. 136 (May - Jun., 2003), pp. 84-85

Khanna, P. (2008): The Second World, New York, Brookings Institution Press, 2008 King, C. (2008): The Five Day War: Managing Moscow after the Georgia Crisis, Foreign Affairs, Nov/ Dec 2008

Kingstone, P. (2009): Brazil, the sleeping giant awakens? World Politics Review, January 12, 2009; http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/article.aspx?id=314

Lamas, B.G. (2004): O Brasil e a Reforma do Conselho de Segurança da ONU, Análise Segurança, PUC Minas, December 16, 2004

Latinobarometro (2009);

http://www.economist.com/world/americas/displaystory.cfm?story\_id=15080535, accessed January 24, 2010

Le Mière, C. (2009): China's Western Front: Can Beijing bring Order to its restive provinces?, Foreign Affairs, August 14, 2009

Luce, E. (2007): Inspite of the Gods: The Strange Rise of Modern India, New York, Random House, 2007

Macfarlane, S.N. (2006): The 'R' in BRICs: Is Russia an emerging power?, International Affairs, Volume 82, Number 1, January 2006

Mahbubani, K. (2008): The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible shift of global power to the east, New York, Public Affairs, 2008

Mangabeira Unger, R. (2007): Presentation at the VIII National Seminar of Strategic Studied (ENEE), Brasília, November 7, 2007

Marconini, M. (2006): Politica externa em Perspectiva, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 2006

Martins, J. R., and D. Zirker (2000): The Brazilian Army under Cardoso: Overcoming the Identity Crisis, Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Autumn, 2000), pp. vi-170

Military Expenditure Database of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), www.sipri.org, accessed January 21, 2010

Mohan, R. (2006): India and the Balance of Power, Foreign Affairs, July/August 2006

Perry, W. and M. Primorac (1994): The Inter-American Security Agenda, Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol.36, No.3, Autumn 1994

Rossi, C. (2010): O filho é maior que o pai?, Folha de São Paulo, January 21st, 2010; http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/pensata/clovisrossi/ult10116u682809.shtml, accessed January 24, 2010

Schwartz, M. (2008): Russia Loans Venezuela \$1 Billion for Military, The New York Times, September 26, 2008

Truitt, R.D. (1976): Latin American Security Issues, Military Affairs, Vol. 40, No.4, Dec 1976